264 476 the men's house. The women of each dwelling cooked equal amounts of the food to be consumed and it was then brought out for the common meal.

422 Although food was shared throughout the village, the same rules did not apply to personal property in material objects. This class of articles, including weapons, hammocks, ornaments, basketry, and pottery, was really the only category that corresponds with our own property concepts. These things might be loaned or manufactured especially for another person, usually a close relative, but rarely did one person claim a personal object from another as a gift. A highly desired object was occasionally asked for and, while sometimes given, was often politely denied with a suitable excuse. [576] It was not considered polite to demand something from another. [437] Objects were sometimes traded, but such barter was relatively [556] uncommon. There were no differences of wealth in the aboriginal society.

462 Division of labor

The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an overall picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with most tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor was sexual. There were no specialized occupations among the women and the only one among the men, shamanism, was hereditary, done without reimbursement of any kind, and without releasing the individual from production

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any woman who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[4]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trumpets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely nonlocal nature of the clans, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruá belonged to the *Waru* clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILOCALITY TO MATRILOCALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954:755) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as viable as most social sys-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Contemporary students of social organization tend to accept the hypothesis of unilocal residence as the basis of unilineality, and there will perhaps not be much argument as to the priority of patrilocality among the Mundurucú. The dynamics and stages of the process are, however, an open question. Two dysfunctional or incongruous elements have been noted in the foregoing description of Mundurucú patrilineality and matrilocality. One of these is the patrilocality of the chief's sons. This can be explained quite simply as an accommodation of patrilineal inheritance to matrilocal pressure. However, a dysfunctional factor was thereby introduced, for the chief was able to build up a strong lineage-household in villages where such units were no longer possible for the balance of the population. Authority patterns might have become stronger and more centralized due to the new arrangement, but such controls were not essential to this simple, collectivized society.

The other incongruity in Mundurucú social structure was the clan ownership of the sacred trumpets. These cult objects functioned to reinforce the structure of the village and not of the clan or the tribe. The trumpet complex was part of village ritual and involved only village participation, despite the fact that spirits pertaining to the clan were appeased. However, the Mundurucú clan was completely nonlocalized under the conditions of matrilocality, and the clan-village equivalence suggested by the trumpet complex was therefore impossible. Certainly, contemporary informants were able to give no adequate rationalization of the connection between clans and trumpets. On the basis of these structural considerations I would hypothesize that the trumpet complex arose in the period of "the unilocal patrilineal lineage," following Titiev's (1943:524–25) second stage of development of the patrilineal clan. With localized clans, village and clan are the same unit (except for the wives of the clan members), and the sacred trumpets and their spirits would form part of a well integrated ancestor cult. Such a social structure, far from being completely hypothetical, is typical of the Northwest Amazon (Whiffen 1915), to choose an example from another part of the South American rain forest. The Mundurucú trumpets no longer functioned in this way, and the spirits which resided in the instruments were only incidentally considered ancestral to a certain clan. They actually served to protect and aid the village in which they were located.

On the basis of the above data and interpretations, a tentative reconstruction of Mundurucú social history will be attempted in the following paragraphs.

The earliest stage of Mundurucú evolution for which we have any significant evidence is that of the patrilocal, single-clan (or patrilineage) village or band. Each clan-village possessed sacred trumpets which embodied the ancestral spirits and were the property of the group. The pattern of referring to the clan as a 'people of the river' may have stemmed from the local nature of the early clan-residence unit.

In the normal process of population expansion, perhaps aided by the introduction of horticulture and the taking of captives, the Mundurucú localized clan might have become subdivided due to the limit of population concentra-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village. (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally considered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the women always seek company when they go to the stream to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals, this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the economy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] *Caboclo* families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $60 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the *caboclo* is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ponents to force back the forearm of the other. In conversation the Mundurucú refrain from personal comparisons and moral judgments, and it is difficult for the outsider even to find out who collects the most rubber.

PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION

Rights to the use of natural resources are held by the community as an entity. New residents or visitors in a village are free, however, to hunt and fish where they please, and may clear garden land if they plan to remain long enough to reap the harvest. There are no fixed village territories, but villages are too far apart for hunting rights to overlap. It sometimes happens, however, that the men of one village chase a herd of wild pigs into the immediate environs of another. On such occasions the animals are pursued and killed by the hunters, but the men of the other village are usually notified and invited to join the hunt. Also, a traveler is free to kill game along the trail wherever he may be.

Gardens are held only by usufruct rights; when the land is exhausted after two years it reverts to the common domain. The yield of gardens, hunting, and fishing are considered the property of the person who owns the garden or made the kill. But these rights lose significance when seen in the light of the distribution system. Any food that comes into the household is shared by the extended family, and if there is a surplus it is distributed to all the households in the village. No one person or family can go hungry if others have food; to refuse a request for food is unheard of among the savannah Mundurucú and would be regarded as utterly reprehensible.

Private property is restricted to tools, utensils, ornaments, wearing apparel, and other portable items. The average man owns one or two bows and a quantity of arrows of various types, and a very few own muzzle-loading

shotguns. A scattering of breech-loading shotguns and Winchester .44-caliber carbines is also found in the savannah villages. Each man also possesses a few fishhooks and some line, steel áxes, knives, a machete, and usually a hoe. Other items of personal property include a hammock, two sets of cotton shirts and trousers, and a variety of such miscellaneous things as buckshot, a comb, matches, and cigarette papers.

Female property includes metal household utensils, ceramic pots, dresses, hammocks, needles and thread, scissors, knives, baskets, beads, brilliantine, hammock looms, tin cans, and a variety of gew-gaws. Items of personal property are given away if the request is persistently and strongly phrased, but these gifts are generally in nonutilitarian articles. Hoes, knives, and similar items are less often requested, but they are freely loaned.

Trade and the influx of manufactured items have greatly expanded the inventory of Mundurucú personal property. But there is no indication of any differentiation of the population by wealth. The only productive resources owned by individual Mundurucú are the rubber avenues, and every man has one. The savannah Mundurucú derive no profit from the labor of others nor do they maintain commercial relations with their fellows.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

591 velopment, followed by ultimate transition to matrilineal-
611 ity, or at least a matrilineal emphasis. But such changes need time, and the recent increase of bilocality and neolocality among the Mundurucú have undercut the possibility for further evolution of any form of unilineal-descent system.

591 Matrilocality is less uniformly practiced now than in the
178 recent past, mainly because of the present reduced population of village and household. The extended family has been correspondingly weakened and is frequently unable to keep the married daughter if the husband does not desire to live with his affinals. Or death may cause a girl to be left without close female relatives. She may then join women who are sisters and mothers to her in a classificatory sense, but toward whom her emotional ties are weaker, or she may join her husband's family. As the extended family of related women grows weaker, so also does matrilocality. But most marriages in the savannah communities follow the rule; the most common exceptions are unions in which the coûple establishes its own residence at the man's rubber avenue.

596 Although the Mundurucú extended family is much
592 smaller than in past times and is progressively giving way to the nuclear family, it continues as a fundamental unit in all phases of economic life. Private property in the
• [422] household consists only of personal items and tools, and the nuclear family has significance in the consumption economy, chiefly in the purchase of items from the trader. Garden products are shared by all members of the extended family, as are fish and game. The only exception to
[224] this rule is when game is scarce, and the day's kill consists only of small animals or birds. On such occasions, the nuclear family of the hunter may consume the food, but it is just as frequently divided, albeit in small quantities, among the members of the house.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

431 food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household [123] without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

476 The women of all village households frequently coöp-
244 erate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of
252 farinha, especially when large quantities are to be pro-
462 duced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for coöperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of [439] farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals or extended families.

422 That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production
574
476

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

and participates most intensively in the labor is illustrated by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruá. Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropas River and the other from the Cururú, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They required a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their coöperation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgingly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Mundurucú principle that coöperation should be given in any task in which joint effort is possible. [83]

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no farinha is being manufactured. As a forum and a point of social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, so obvious among the men, is not as complete among the women, however. The household unit of fe-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In 439
contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries 648
and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally [797]
concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú 184
household shows that the people there own many more 177
manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native man- [422]
ufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock mak- [323]
ing are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued [286]
by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually
has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. [291]
Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear
and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress.
The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men
of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial
elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such 439
as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appre- 177
ciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and 184
are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured 177
articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western cul- 439
ture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these
articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and
a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the
overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice
the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the 177
teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arith- 797
metic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remark- [658]
able. And although Christianity is not actively rejected,
the people are not deeply affected by the missionary
teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and re-
spected without any commitment or great interest on the
part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who
have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

476 226 [224] Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The [797] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

241 476 [462] Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

415 252 422 [343] Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipití for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the [476] farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are considered to be the property of the chief, since they were purchased through his and his extended family's labor. The large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cururú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate coöperative patterns. Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position primarily to recognition by the mission, but who is also accorded some deference because of his age and his status as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

/18 cont./

*241
171

the peasant population of "Itá." Let us note here /19/ merely some key terms: choice of the site and use of fallow plots (:101), clearing and felling (:103), burning and planting (:104), chief cultivated plants (:102), secondary cultures (:104), replanting (:104). This comparison, in fact, corroborates the statement by the same author that in the lower Amazon "the basic agricultural methods have changed little since aboriginal times" (:101). The Tenetehara, a Tupi tribe of Maranhão (Wagley and Galvão), 1949), also use agricultural methods and processes which are in many respects actually identical to those observed among the Mundurukú.

III. Social factors

*241 Since agriculture is one of the bases of Mundurukú subsistence, it is not surprising that it should also be reflected in the social life of the tribe. Certain social factors /19/ are determined or influenced by the garden-agriculture complex. I shall allude chiefly to the threefold relationship of:

1. Garden and individual: the division of labor;
2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance;
3. Garden and tribal group: intraterritorial migrations.

1. Garden and individual: the division of labor between the sexes

● 422
462 Among the Indians, there is ordinarily a rule or agreement whereby each person is the owner of what he acquires, makes, or produces.

/19 cont./

422 462 Thus, certain rights of exclusivity are established beforehand for the individual. This is expressed in the principle of the sexual division of labor. For example, the raw materials and the products [285] [323] of basket making are exclusively the property of the man; clay and pottery articles, of the woman. Traditionally, basket weaving is done only by men, pottery making only by women. In all sectors of tribal life, the tasks devolving to each sex are determined by these traditional principles. Thence derives the concept of private property.

462 [189] Throughout the material culture of the Mundurukú, as well, the two work cycles—of men and of women—are clearly evident. This "muscle-bound" division only concerns us here as regards agriculture. The subject, however, is almost a borderline case, where these two work cycles meet. In agriculture there are tasks * 241 462 performed exclusively by men, especially in the initial phase of the preparation of the plot; and there are tasks performed exclusively by women, especially from the time /20/ of planting onward; but there are also joint tasks, in which both sexes participate, such as in the planting of bitter manioc. There the man opens up the pit with the digging stick and the woman places the branch or shoot of manioc in the open hole and closes it by stepping on it.

The tasks at each garden stage are thus determined by the system of "muscle-bound" cycles. An outline provides the following pictures:

TASKS

of the man	of the woman
1. Choosing the site and the soil	- -
2. Determining the size and shape	- -
3. Clearing the undergrowth	- -
4. Felling the trees	- -
5. Burning the felled vegetation	- -
6. Piling up the remaining brush	- -